RELATED ISSUE 4

Should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

Key Issue
To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

Related Issue 1
Should nation be the foundation of identity?

Related Issue 2
Should nations pursue national interest?

Related Issue 3
Should internationalism be pursued?

Related Issue 4
Should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

Chapter 13
Visions of Canada
Have visions of Canadian identity evolved?

Chapter 14
Canadian Identity
Have attempts to promote national identity been successful?

Chapter 15
The Quest for Canadian Unity
Should Canadian unity be promoted?

Chapter 16
Visions of National Identity
Should I embrace a national identity?

This chart shows how you will progress through this related issue. Within each chapter, inquiry questions will help guide your exploration of responses to the chapter issue, related issue, and key course issue.

THE BIG PICTURE

So far, you have developed understandings of identity, nation, nationalism, ultranationalism, and internationalism. In the process, you may have come to understand that you are a member of at least one nation — and perhaps several.

Some experts argue that contending nationalist loyalties cause much of the conflict in the world. For these experts, nationalism is a negative force that causes nations to struggle against nations and leads to an us-versus-them worldview.

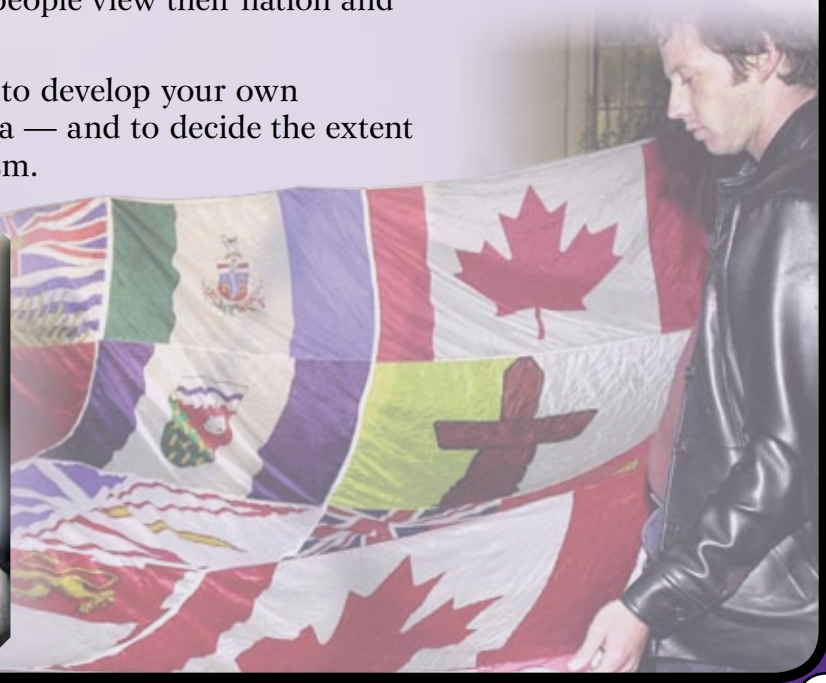
Others have a more positive view of nationalism. They say that a sense of nation creates bonds among people. These bonds foster security and well-being. Nationalism provides a base that helps nations develop, prosper, and play a role in world affairs. Nations can offer aid, expertise, and a model for other nations to follow.

No matter which vision of nationalism you agree with, nationalism affects your life. In Canada, many nations coexist, but their goals sometimes conflict. Some nations even want to change the country's structure. For Canada and Canadians, this diversity presents both challenges and opportunities — and you will explore some of these in this related issue.

The chart on the previous page shows how you will progress through Related Issue 4. As you explore this related issue, you will come to appreciate that

- developing a national identity is a process with a past, a present, and a future
- national identity is complex and multi-faceted
- people have differing visions of their national identity
- these differing visions affect the way people view their nation and nationalism

Your explorations will challenge you to develop your own understandings of nationalism in Canada — and to decide the extent to which you wish to embrace nationalism.



Your Challenge

Participate in a four-corners debate. The purpose of the debate is to explore and present an informed position on the question for this related issue:

Should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?

You will then work with the class to build a consensus in response to the key course question:

To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

The Four-Corners Debate

Before the debate begins, you will see four signs — Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree — posted in the four corners of the classroom. These signs show levels of agreement or disagreement with the debate statement:

Individuals and groups in Canada should embrace a national identity.

At the end of each chapter of this related issue, you will complete the skill builder shown on the chart on the facing page.

When you have finished all four skill builders, you will be ready to participate in the four-corners debate.

As you prepare the materials for the challenge, use "Checklist for Success" on this page to make sure your preparation includes everything necessary to be successful.

What to Do

In preparing for the debate, you will identify and analyze the main ideas in the debate statement, develop an informed position, and create questions to ask other debaters.

✔ Checklist for Success

My participation in the debate and in the consensus-building activity . . .

Knowledge and Understanding	☐ shows my understanding of what it means to embrace a national identity and nationalism ☐ states my position on whether national identity and nationalism should be embraced ☐ includes valid evidence to support my position
Selection, Analysis, and Evaluation of Information	☐ shows that I have used a variety of sources ☐ reflects relevant, valid, reliable evidence that is free of bias ☐ reflects diverse points of view and perspectives ☐ shows the criteria I used to make judgments
Presentation	☐ presents a clear and consistent message ☐ is suited to my purpose and audience ☐ considers the points of view and perspectives of others ☐ shows that I can contribute respectfully to discussions

How to Complete Your Challenge

The skill builders at the end of each chapter will help you prepare for the four-corners debate. Completing these four activities will help you take part in the debate and the consensus-building activity and complete the challenge successfully.

At the end of Chapter 16, you will take part in the class debate and the consensus-building activity.

1. Select the corner that best represents your position. Present your position and respond to questions exploring the reasons for your position.
2. Listen respectfully as others state their position. Question them to clarify or explore the reasons for their position.
3. Consider everything that you have heard and decide whether you want to revise your position and move to a new corner of the room.

4. Take part in the class consensus-building activity on the key course-issue question: To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

Your Challenge Skill Builders

Focus of the Skill Builder	What You Will Do	When You Will Do It
Analyzing Ideas Demonstrate critical thinking skills	**Analyze the debate statement** Identify main ideas and analyze relationships among them	End of Chapter 13 Visions of Canada
Making Decisions Demonstrate skills of decision making and problem solving	**Build a consensus** Develop a consensus in response to chapter-issue question	End of Chapter 14 Canadian Identity
Applying the Research Process Develop and express an informed position on an issue	**Develop an informed position** Develop an informed position on the debate statement	End of Chapter 15 The Quest for Canadian Unity
Contributing to Discussions Consider the points of view and perspectives of others	**Develop relevant questions** Develop possible questions to ask during the debate, as well as possible responses	End of Chapter 16 Visions of National Identity

CHAPTER 13

Visions of Canada

Figure 13-1 The three posters on this page say something about Canada at three different times. At the top is a poster designed to attract visitors to Expo 67, the world's fair held in Montréal to mark Canada's centennial. On the right is a poster by the Vancouver Olympic Committee designed to inspire Aboriginal youth to join in winter sports. It features Chelsie Mitchell, the first Aboriginal woman to make British Columbia's snowboard team. And on the left is a Canadian Pacific Railway poster from the 1920s. It was designed to attract immigrants to Canada.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How have visions of Canadian identity evolved?

THE KEY TO EFFECTIVE ADVERTISING is finding a single image that clearly communicates a message. Whether you are selling doughnuts, blue jeans, or a nation, the strategy is the same. All the advertisements on the previous page try to sum up Canada in a single image.

When individuals, groups, businesses, and governments try to capture the identity of a country in a single image, their visions are often different. Perhaps the designers grew up in different regions. Perhaps what they value in the country is different. Their goals are probably different as well. The poster created by the Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, was designed for a specific purpose: to attract settlers to the Canadian West. It shows a Canada that railway officials believed would appeal to immigrants.

Think about how the images on the previous page reflect changing visions of Canada, then respond to these questions:

- For each poster, choose three descriptive words that capture the vision of Canada that it presents.
- Why do you think the three visions of Canada are different?
- Can a single image capture a vision of an entire country?
- Do any or all of the posters show what Canada is really like?
- What images would you include on a poster advertising Canada?

KEY TERMS

responsible government

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore the extent to which visions of Canada have evolved. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- What is Canada?
- What were some early visions of Canada?
- Did early visions of Canada meet people's needs?
- Does Canada today show that visions of Canadian identity have evolved?

My Journal on Nationalism

Think about the visions of Canada presented in the posters on the previous page. Then use words or images — or both — to express your current ideas on changing visions of Canada's national identity. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them.

What is Canada?

Which is easiest to define — your personal, group, collective, or national identity? Why?

Exploring national identity is important in a course about nationalism. Nationalism and national identity are nearly always linked. If a national identity is strong, it may inspire nationalistic feelings. A weak sense of national identity will not.

National identity involves a sense of belonging to a collective or community. When a nation has a clearly defined identity, it will appeal to many different individuals and groups. Most Japanese citizens, for example, have a strong national identity because they share an ethnicity, a language, and a distinct culture. It doesn't matter whether they live on the northern island of Hokkaido or the southern island of Kyushu. They all feel as if they are part of a single Japanese identity.

The five television shows pictured in the photo essay on this page and the next were made by Canadians. Do they show a single, strong Canadian identity? Is it possible to produce a single television series that portrays a Canada that reflects all Canadians?

Picturing Canada on Television

Figure 13-2 ***Moose TV*** is Canada's first television comedy produced by Aboriginal people. The show tells the story of the people who live in the fictional community of Moose in northern Québec. The photograph shows Adam Beach, one of the stars of the series. Beach is a member of the Saulteaux Nation of Manitoba. The show's producer, Ernest Webb, is Cree. When people watch the show, Webb wants them to say, "Yeah, that's us. That's where we come from."

Figure 13-3 ***Degrassi — The Next Generation*** is the latest version of a long-running Canadian television drama. It tells the story of the young people who attend a downtown high school in a large Canadian city. The creators of the show wanted to explore real issues that young Canadians face. The photograph above shows four of the cast members.

Stories and National Identity

In a country as large and diverse as Canada, finding a single, strong national identity may be difficult. People tend to define themselves in terms of the group or nation to which they feel most closely connected. This might be, for example, a First Nation, a region, or a language community.

Central to a national identify are the stories about the people — how they live, their values, their humour, and their shared concerns. The Mi'kmaq, for example, share stories through an oral tradition that helps them define who they are. Today, many Canadians listen to television and radio storytellers — the creators, writers, and producers of Canadian radio and television programs.

Imagine that a classmate — a recent immigrant — has asked you which Canadian television shows to watch so that she or he can understand the Canadian national identity. Which of the television shows in this photo essay would you recommend? Which would you not? What shows would you add to provide a better picture of Canada?

VOICES

Oral traditions are one way that people make sense of the world in which they live . . . They are often unique to that society, and help to define who they are and what they believe in as a people. Thus, the oral traditions of the Mi'kmaq differ from those of any other people in the world, and help to keep the Mi'kmaq unique.

— *Creators of the online magazine* Mi'kmaq Spirit

Figure 13-5 ***Little Mosque on the Prairie*** is a comedy about an immigrant Muslim family and their non-Muslim friends and neighbours. The story takes place in a fictional Canadian Prairie town. The photograph shows two cast members — Neil Crone (left) and Arlene Duncan — and the director Michael Kennedy. Zarqa Nawaz, the show's creator, was inspired by her own experiences as a Muslim in Regina, Saskatchewan.

Figure 13-4 ***Corner Gas*** is a comedy created by Canadian Brent Butt. It features characters who live in the fictional town of Dog River, Saskatchewan. The photograph shows three of the cast members — Gabrielle Miller, Brent Butt, and Nancy Robertson. According to the official website, the show is "about a bunch of nobodies who get up to a whole lot of nothing."

Figure 13-6 ***Ice Road Truckers*** is a unique Canadian documentary set in the Northwest Territories. For the two coldest months of the year, hardy truckers steer their 18-wheelers north on an ice road that stretches across northern lakes and down the Mackenzie River. These truckers form a lifeline for communities such as Tuktoyaktuk and for the worksites of oil and gas companies and diamond mines.

Figure 13-7 Until 1965, Canada did not have its own official flag. In 1964, Prime Minister Lester Pearson suggested that Canada adopt a design. But designing a national flag can be difficult because it must represent the whole country. In the top photograph, a university student presented Pearson with his favourite choice. Eventually, a committee narrowed down suggestions to three. Two of the finalists are shown. One is similar to the student's choice. The other is similar to the final version, but includes the British Union Jack and the French fleur-de-lis. Which do you prefer, and why?

Changing Visions of Canada

Canadians have been trying to define Canada's national identity since before Confederation. Some common factors in these definitions include the following:

- Certain beliefs, values, and traditions make Canadians different.
- Canadian identity begins with the country's Aboriginal, French, and British roots.
- Canada includes many identities.
- Canadians often define themselves by what they are not, such as "not American" and "not British."
- Canada is a frame of mind that enables people to imagine themselves in someone else's shoes. Journalist Susan Delacourt wrote: "To be Canadian means to be willing to shrug off your own identity so you can imagine what it's like to be someone else."

When Delacourt said that being Canadian means being "willing to shrug off your own identity," did she mean that Canadians must abandon their personal identity? Explain your response.

Some people even argue that there is no such thing as a Canadian national identity. They say that Canada is so big and includes people from so many backgrounds that Canadians have little in common. These people believe that a Canadian nation-state exists, but not a Canadian nation.

Voices That Have Shaped Canadian Identity

As you grow older and gain experience, your personal identity will evolve — change over time. National identities also evolve. This evolution often takes place because of changes within society, both sudden and gradual. A sudden natural disaster, for example, can deeply affect a nation. So, too, can gradual changes.

Changes in national identity also come about through the work of artists, writers, and leaders who help the peoples of a nation see themselves as they are — or as they could be.

Canadian Identity and Geography

Canadian history is full of stories of people struggling to tame or adapt to nature. Novelist Margaret Atwood, for example, has said that the word "survival" is "the essence" of Canadian identity. The first European settlers, for example, had to survive in an unfamiliar land — and often relied on the wisdom and skills of First Nations people to do this.

Some people have said that Canadians are defined by Canada's vast open spaces, its northern climate, and its small, scattered population. Historian and journalist Peter C. Newman said, "It is our outrageous dimensions that give shape and reason to our identity as Canadians." Newman identified winter — and Canada's North — as the most important influence on Canadian identity.

It is wonderful to feel the grandness of Canada in the raw, not because she is Canada but because she's something sublime that you were born into, some great rugged power that you are a part of.

— Emily Carr, Canadian artist, in her journal, 1937

One Canada

In 1956, John Diefenbaker, who would later become prime minister, said, "I have one love — Canada; one purpose — Canada's greatness; one aim — Canadian unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific." Those who identify with Diefenbaker's vision of one Canada believe that Canadians want to live together as a civic nation, regardless of their ethnic, cultural, language, and regional differences. This civic nation is the nation-state that began at Confederation.

Pluralistic and Multicultural

The federal government describes one element of Canada's identity as "bilingual within a multicultural context." People who support this vision say that Canada's diversity is its identity. This vision of Canada suggests that Canadians are free to maintain their traditional culture and language — because Canada is a mosaic of identities.

In 1979, Joe Clark, who was then leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, said, "Governments make the nation work by recognizing that we are fundamentally a community of communities."

And in 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper proclaimed that the Québécois constitute a "nation within a united Canada." Harper's statement acknowledged that Québécois have a collective identity that is different from that of other peoples in Canada. But it also says that they are still part of the larger Canadian nation-state. These visions of Canadian identity suggest that many different national identities exist side by side within Canada.

We believe in two official languages and in a pluralist society not merely as a political necessity but as an enrichment. We want to live in a country in which French Canadians can choose to live among English Canadians and English Canadians can choose to live among French Canadians without abandoning their cultural heritage.

— Pierre Trudeau, prime minister, on introducing the government's Official Languages Act, 1968

People have many different visions of Canadian identity. Does this mean that trying to define Canada is a waste of time?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Create a T-chart like the one shown. In the first column, list the TV series featured in the photo essay. In the second column, list some of the visions of national identity expressed by these series.

Visions of Canada	
TV Series	National Identity Expressed

2. You have read about several visions of Canada. Which vision do you think had the greatest impact on the creators of these popular programs? Explain your judgment.
3. Which vision of Canada do you think most effectively captures the country today? Explain why. If you think that none of these visions captures today's Canada, describe another vision that does.

What were some early visions of Canada?

Canada evolved from a desire for independence, freedom, and self-determination. Step by step, through rebellions, elections, skirmishes, and debates, Canada gained independence from Britain. As this happened, the people of Canada created visions of what the country was — and what it could become.

A Vision of a Responsible Government

In the early 19th century, British North America — now Canada — was still controlled by Britain. But the people of the colonies that made up British North America began to want more say in their own affairs.

In 1841, the British government merged Upper Canada, which was mostly anglophone, and Lower Canada, which was mostly Francophone, into one province called Canada. Upper Canada, which is today southern Ontario, was renamed Canada West. Lower Canada, which is today southern Québec, was renamed Canada East.

The new province had one legislative assembly. This assembly was made up of an equal number of representatives from Canada East and Canada West, even though more people lived in Canada East than in Canada West. Yet English was the only language allowed in the legislature because the British wanted Francophones to assimilate into anglophone culture.

In response, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine of Canada East and Robert Baldwin of Canada West joined forces to demand **responsible government**. They wanted a government that would answer only to the people of Canada, not to the colony's British governor. In addition, both wanted the language and culture of Canada's Francophones to survive.

Setting Aside Differences

To achieve their goal, LaFontaine and Baldwin knew that they must set aside their cultural differences and find a way to co-operate. By 1848, the two had succeeded. Canada had responsible government. In the following years, Britain also granted responsible government to other North American colonies, such as New Brunswick. LaFontaine and Baldwin's vision of Canada as an anglophone–Francophone partnership became a model for future generations.

Baldwin and LaFontaine had a vision of Canada as a partnership between anglophones and Francophones. Has their vision survived? Can you see its effects in Canada today? Explain your response.

Web Connection

To find out more about Robert Baldwin, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, and responsible government, go this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 13-8 Canada East and Canada West, 1841

To see a map of Canada today, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 13-9 This monument on Parliament Hill in Ottawa was created in 1914. It shows Robert Baldwin (left) and Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine (right). The sculptor, Walter Allward, chose to show the two politicians together. What message do you think Allward was trying to deliver by doing this?

Confederation: A New Vision of Canada

In 1861, civil war broke out in the United States. States in the North and South battled over differing visions of their country. When this war ended in 1865, some Americans wanted to take over Canada. In 1866, the American House of Representatives even passed an act proposing that the U.S. take over all Britain's colonies in North America.

Examine the cartoon on this page. Describe your reaction. If a similar cartoon appeared in a Canadian newspaper today, how do you think people would respond? Why do you think the bulldog is included in the picture?

At the same time, other issues were causing problems in British North America. The economy was suffering because Britain and the U.S. had restricted trade with the British colonies. In addition, Francophones in Canada East were afraid that their voices were being drowned out. A flood of English-speaking immigrants to Canada West had shifted the balance between Francophones and anglophones. Anglophones had begun to outnumber Francophones in the province of Canada.

Figure 13-10 This 1869 cartoon shows an early vision of Canada resisting American attempts to take over the country. The bulldog is a symbol of Britain.

New Political Leaders

To deal with these issues, a new group of political leaders emerged in the 1860s. Led by John A. Macdonald and George-Étienne Cartier, their goal was to go beyond responsible government. They wanted an independent Canada that preserved its British heritage and promoted the language and culture of its Francophone citizens.

After long negotiations, the new country of Canada was created in 1867. It was made up of four provinces: Ontario and Québec, which had been created out of the old province of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

New Government

The British North America Act, which created Canada, defined two levels of representative and responsible government. The federal government was to look after national affairs, and the four provincial governments would manage their own affairs. This arrangement ensured that Québec could affirm and promote the language and culture of its Francophone citizens.

At Confederation, Canada was not the same country as it is today. But as circumstances changed and events unfolded, people developed new visions of what it meant to be Canadian.

When Canada was created, Aboriginal peoples were not invited to join the process of Confederation. Why do you think they were left out?

THE VIEW FROM HERE

In the years before Confederation, various visions of Canada emerged. Here are the ideas of four people.

In 1849, **Shingwaukonse** led the Anishinabé who lived near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. The government had allowed mining companies onto his people's land. Shingwaukonse envisioned a country that protected his people's rights while allowing mining companies to continue — under strict conditions.

> The Great Spirit, we think, placed these rich mines on our lands, for the benefit of his red children,* so that their rising generation might get support from them when the animals of the woods should have grown too scarce for our subsistence . . . We will sell you the lands, if you will give us what is right and at the same time, we want pay for every pound of mineral that has been taken off our lands, as well as for that which may hereafter be carried away.
>
> * Shingwaukonse was using the language that was common at the time.

In 1855, pioneer and author **Catharine Parr Traill** had a vision of Canada as a country that would enable even its poorest citizens to live comfortably.

> Canada preserving energy and industry with sobriety will overcome all obstacles, and in time will place the very poorest family in a position of substantial comfort that no personal exertion alone could have procured for them elsewhere.

Antoine-Aimé Dorion was a Québec lawyer and politician. He favoured uniting Canada East and West but feared that Francophone interests would be lost in a larger union. His views sparked a debate over whether Canada should be a union of two nations — British and French — or a federation of equal provinces.

> It is evident . . . that it is intended eventually to form a legislative union of all the provinces . . . Perhaps the people of Upper Canada* think a legislative union a most desirable thing. I can tell those gentlemen that the people of Lower Canada* are attached to their institutions in a manner that defies any attempt to change them in that way. They will not change their religious institutions, their laws, and their language . . .
>
> * Though the names of Upper and Lower Canada had officially changed, many people continued to use the former names.

Irish-born **Thomas D'Arcy McGee** was a Montréal writer and politician who strongly supported Confederation. In 1860, McGee finished a speech to the Legislative Assembly of Canada with the following words.

> I see in the not remote distance one great nationality bound, like the shield of Achilles [an ancient Greek hero], by the blue rim of ocean. I see it quartered into many communities — each [looking after] its internal affairs, but all bound together by free institutions, free [speech], and free commerce.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Summarize the vision of Canada presented by each speaker or writer.
2. Which of these early visions continue to be reflected in Canada today? Explain the connections you have identified.

Evolving Visions of Canada

John A. Macdonald's dream of a country stretching from sea to sea started to become reality when British Columbia agreed to join Confederation in 1871. To persuade B.C. to join, Macdonald promised to build the Canadian Pacific Railway to connect Canada's east and west coasts.

Once the railway was finished, Canada could take another big step: securing and populating the West. The railway would transport people and supplies. But the newcomers would need land.

To get this land, the federal government negotiated treaties with the First Nations of the West. Vast stretches of land where First Nations had lived became government property. First Nations peoples were moved to reserves.

Despite the government's plans, few people moved west at first. But then Wilfrid Laurier was elected prime minister in 1896. Laurier believed that the United States would try to take over the West if few people lived there. So he and his Liberal government decided that they must do more to attract settlers.

Laurier gave the task of populating the West to Clifford Sifton, the minister of the interior. At first, Sifton wanted only British and American immigrants. But few were willing to come. So Sifton set up immigration offices in non-English-speaking European countries. Soon, communities of Poles, Germans, Ukrainians, Finns, Norwegians, and others began to appear on the Prairies. Sifton believed that these people were well-suited to farm life.

Examine Figures 13-11 to 13-13. What does each tell you about population growth in the West? Do they all show the same thing, or does each say something different? Which graph shows the most important change? Explain your conclusions.

This dramatic population increase changed Canada forever. The country became more multicultural, and English-speaking people were no longer as dominant. Francophones were also affected. Most of the immigrants decided to learn English rather than French — and Francophones became an even smaller minority.

Figure 13-11 Prairie Population, 1911 and 1921

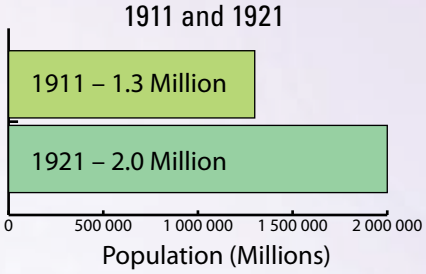


Figure 13-12 Alberta Population Density, 1901 and 1921

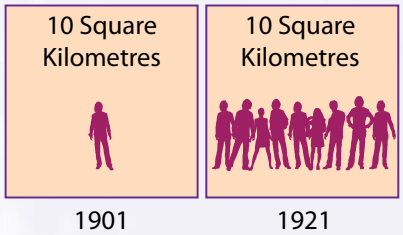
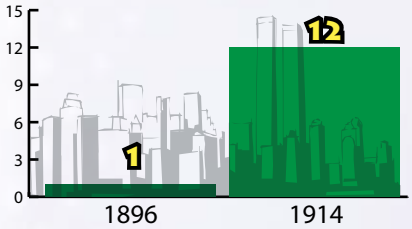


Figure 13-13 Number of Prairie Communities with City Status, 1896 and 1914



Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Place these visions in an order that shows how Canada's national identity has evolved.
   - Canada: a federation of four provinces
   - Canada: a multicultural country
   - Canada: an anglophone and Francophone province of Britain
2. Which of the following sayings do you think best describes how a Canadian national identity evolved? Explain your choice — or choose and explain a different saying.
   - One step forward, two steps back.
   - You're not getting older; you're getting better.
   - Making the best of a bad situation.

Did early visions of Canada meet people's needs?

By the time Clifford Sifton's immigration push came to an end in the early 20th century, Canada was on the path toward multiculturalism. But the way was not always smooth. In a vast and varied country, some people believed that their needs were not being met.

Figure 13-14 Languages in Canada

Language	1867*	1931*	2001*
French	31%	27%	23%
English	61%	56%	60%
Other	8%	17%	18%

* Percentages have been rounded.

What patterns do you see in the statistics in Figure 13-14? Do these statistics suggest that the arrangement worked out at Confederation should be changed?

Challenges and Opportunities for Francophones

The partnership between anglophone and Francophone Canada brought responsible government during the Baldwin–LaFontaine era. This was reflected in Confederation during the Macdonald–Cartier era. But by the early 20th century, the balance was shifting. The percentage of Francophones in Canada was shrinking. Most people in the new provinces, such as Alberta, spoke English. New immigrants and their children either spoke English or learned English in school. As a result, the power and influence of Francophones in Canada began to decline.

When this happened, many Québec Francophones came to believe that they had three options:

- accept their new position within Canada
- promote a vision of Québec as a strong, self-governing province within Canada
- promote a vision of a sovereign Québec

The Growth of French-Canadian Nationalism

In the decades after Confederation, many Québécois were suspicious of government policies that encouraged immigration. They believed that most immigrants would choose to speak English — and Francophones would become an even smaller minority. This would threaten their status as equal partners in Confederation.

Henri Bourassa was a Québécois leader who believed that Francophone culture must keep its equal status in Canada. To him, this meant that Québécois must control their own affairs.

As Canada's identity continued to change, Bourassa became more and more anti-British. During World War I, for example, he led the opposition to conscription in Québec. He believed that people whose heritage was French should not be required to fight Britain's battles.

Some Canadians outside Québec were also against conscription, but opposition was strongest among Francophone Québécois. Many believed that their interests were being ignored. Issues such as immigration and conscription drove a wedge between many Québec Francophones and much of the rest of Canada.

Did the way Canada was evolving meet the needs of Québec Francophones? Explain your response.

Figure 13-15 On May 24, 1917, during World War I, many Montréal residents took to the streets to protest conscription. Some Québécois in other communities did the same. Outside Québec, opposing conscription was often considered unpatriotic or cowardly. Was this assessment fair?

A New Era in Québec

Québec nationalism is rooted in the desire of Québécois to affirm and promote their identity and French heritage. The Catholic religion was an important part of this heritage. Until the 1950s, a priest and historian named Lionel Groulx led a nationalist movement that focused on the church. Groulx believed that a separate state might be necessary to achieve freedom and independence for Québec.

Canada emerged from World War II as an increasingly urban industrial country. In 1901, for example, 37 per cent of Canadians lived in cities. By 1951, this number had risen to 62 per cent. Like many other Canadians, Québécois were also moving to cities.

How might moving to a city affect people's sense of identity?

<<< CheckBack

You read about the Québec sovereignty movement in Chapter 3.

The Quiet Revolution

Long-serving Québec premier Maurice Duplessis picked up on the ideas of Groulx and fought for a more independent Québec. Like Groulx, Duplessis focused on the traditional values of church and community. But by the time Duplessis died in 1959, many Québécois were embracing what became known as the Quiet Revolution. They wanted to modernize Québec by improving social programs and the education system. They also wanted to affirm and promote Francophone culture in Québec.

To reach these goals, many believed that Québec must control immigration, industry, language laws, and some aspects of foreign policy. For some, sovereignty was the only way to do this — and in 1968, René Lévesque and others founded the Parti Québécois to promote independence for Québec.

In the same year, Pierre Trudeau was elected prime minister. Although Trudeau was Québécois, his vision was of a strong, united Canada. He believed in "two official languages and a pluralist society." His government passed the Official Languages Act in 1969 to protect the language rights of all Francophones in Canada.

The debate over Québec's place in Canada continues to evolve. For Québécois, the challenge is to keep their distinct identity. For the federal government, the challenge is to keep a diverse country together while meeting the needs of a changing population.

FYI

The Quiet Revolution was partly a rejection of nationalism based on religion. The following results from a 2004 poll conducted in Québec show that religion is less important today than it was in the past:

- 83 per cent of respondents identified themselves as Catholic
- 66 per cent said that religion is unimportant in public life
- 59 per cent said that religion is unimportant in private life

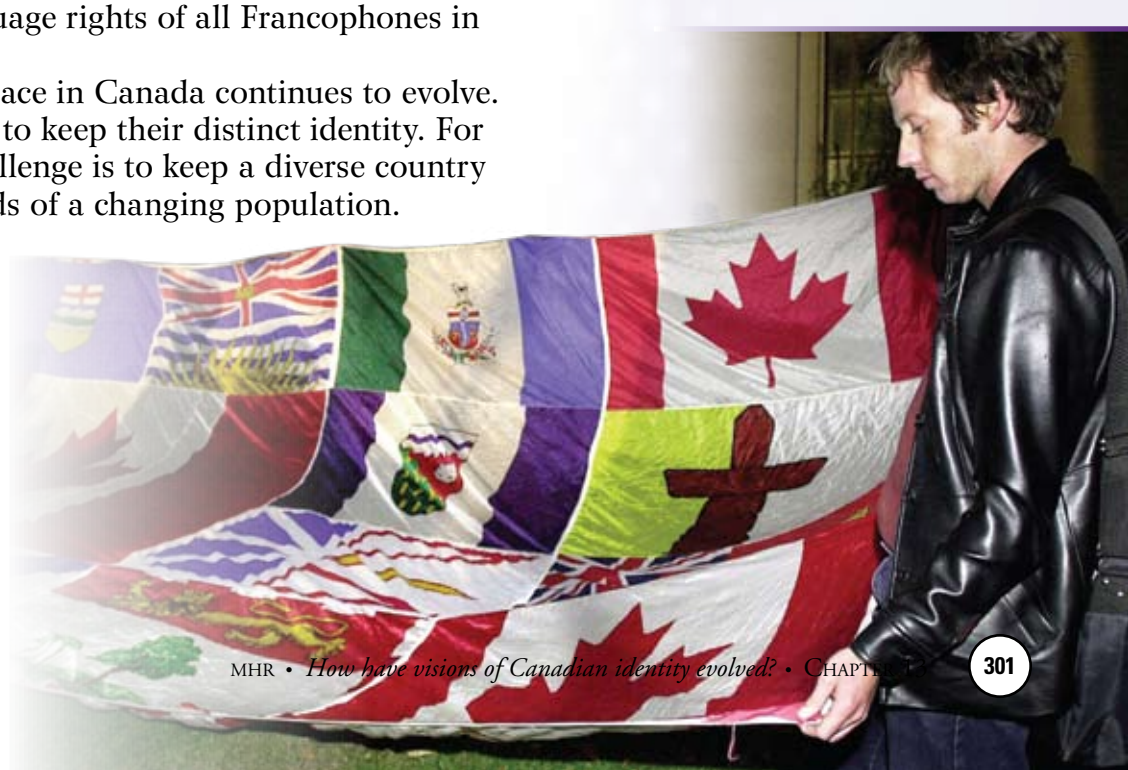


Figure 13-16 Pierre Trudeau died on September 28, 2000. To honour him, these well-wishers gathered outside his Montréal home and held a flag symbolizing Canadian unity. Trudeau believed that Canada is strong and flexible enough to promote and protect individual rights and Québécois culture at the same time.

Web Connection

To find out more about Canadian immigration over the years, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Immigration and the New Canada

Until the 1970s, Canadian policies favoured immigrants from Northern Europe and the United States. The experiences of immigrants from other places, such as China, Caribbean countries, and Italy, were often difficult. Many of these immigrants felt as if they were excluded from visions of Canada. They were not regarded as Canadians, even when they had been born in Canada or had lived in Canada for many years.

Taking Turns

What vision of Canada meets your needs?

The students responding to the question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution.

Harley

My people are our own nation. Early visions of Canada didn't respect the Kainai as a nation. The government just put us on a reserve and hoped we would go away. My grandmother's culture and language were stolen from her when they forced her to go to a residential school. Still, I sense more respect out there these days. I think that a truly pluralistic Canada might work — a nation based on respect for Canada's many peoples; a country where people could be loyal to their nation and to Canada.

E pluribus unum — out of many, one — is the American motto. That's what I like about the States: everyone wants to be part of the same big success story. You never see that in Canada. So many people want respect, or want to separate, or want an apology. Why can't they just forget the past and be one big happy family? That's what we are here in Fort McMurray. People from all over Canada pitch in to pull oil out of the oil sands.

Rick

Jane

People have this vision of Canada as this great multicultural country. But that's just a mirage! And the reality sure doesn't meet my needs. I look at my family's past. It's true we got our freedom when we escaped from the States to Nova Scotia. But that doesn't mean it hasn't been hard. Every day, it's tough being black in this country. In the Canada of my dreams, people wouldn't think you were up to no good just because you're standing on a corner waiting for a friend.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Rick, and Jane are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How important is it for Canadians to have a single vision of themselves as a nation?

Not Wanted in Canada

When workers were needed to help build the Canadian Pacific Railway, Chinese immigrants were welcomed to Canada. But in 1885, the federal government introduced the Chinese Immigration Act. This law imposed a head tax of $50 on every Chinese person who wanted to come to Canada. By 1904, the tax had risen to $500. Finally, in 1923, the government banned nearly all immigration from China.

By law, Chinese immigrants were not allowed to vote or hold certain jobs until after World War II. Because they suffered discrimination in the communities where they settled, these immigrants turned to one another for support. Many settled together in urban neighbourhoods that were called Chinatowns.

Black immigrants from the United States experienced similar discrimination. A number of black American families immigrated to Alberta and Saskatchewan in the early 1900s. More followed to escape racism in their home country. This alarmed some Canadians, so the government tried to discourage black immigrants from coming to Canada. Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier even banned the immigration of blacks for a year.

Chinese and black immigrants were not the only ones excluded from visions of Canada at this time. Other groups, such as Doukhobors, Jews, Ukrainians, and people from other Asian countries, suffered similar discrimination.

This discrimination continued for decades. Finally, in 1962, the Immigration Act was changed. Canada opened its doors to people from all over the world. And in 1971, the federal government adopted a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." This changed Canada's identity once again. Despite this official policy, many immigrants and Canadians continue to believe that their needs are not being met.

With a partner, discuss why the government's vision of Canada in the early 20th century seemed to say that discrimination was okay.

Voices

I am in prison because I covet riches.
Driven by poverty I sailed over here on the choppy sea.
If only I did not need to labour for money,
I would already have returned home to China.

—Anonymous poem written on a cell wall in the federal immigration building in Victoria, B.C.

Web Connection

To find out more about Canada's Chinese immigration policies in the 20th century, and how the Canadian government responded in 2006, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 13-17 Thomas and Misouri Mapp and their family immigrated to Edmonton from Kansas in 1906. They later moved to a homestead in Amber Valley, where this photograph was taken in 1925. Amber Valley had many black families. Why would people tend to settle in communities with others like themselves?

IMPACT

The Ukrainian Experience in Canada

Alexander and Anna Szpak and their three children were part of the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants that helped boost the population of the Prairies in the early 20th century. Like the Szpaks, many of the newcomers had to overcome terrible hardships as they built their new homes. For the Szpaks and others who did not speak English, things were even harder. Many of their neighbours did not understand or accept their traditions, and so they often felt alone and homesick.

Immigration

In July 1900, the Szpak family made the long journey from their hometown in Ukraine to northeastern Alberta. Here, Alexander paid $10 for 64.7 hectares of land through the Dominion Lands Act. In return, the Szpaks agreed to clear the land and construct buildings. The work was backbreaking, and life was hard. One winter, the Szpak family lost both a son and daughter to tuberculosis.

The Szpaks were used to farming and hard work. Even so, they found the prairie soil hard to break and the climate harsh. At first, the farm was too small to support the family. This meant that Alexander, like many others, had to leave the farm to look for a job. He worked in a gold mine in Barkerville, British Columbia, to make the money he needed. When he was able to return to the family farm, he began raising and selling workhorses.

Discrimination

Like nearly 200 000 other Ukrainian immigrants, the Szpak family left behind a familiar identity to embrace a new one. Because few Ukrainian immigrants spoke English, it was hard for them to tell people what they wanted or needed. They also found the people in their new country were often unkind and unwilling to help.

Clifford Sifton had tried to attract Ukrainians because he respected their hardworking ways. But many of their Canadian neighbours disagreed. Even the newspapers made fun of the way the newcomers dressed, their customs, and their efforts to speak English. People harassed them, called them names, and made it difficult for Ukrainian immigrants to feel at home in their new country.

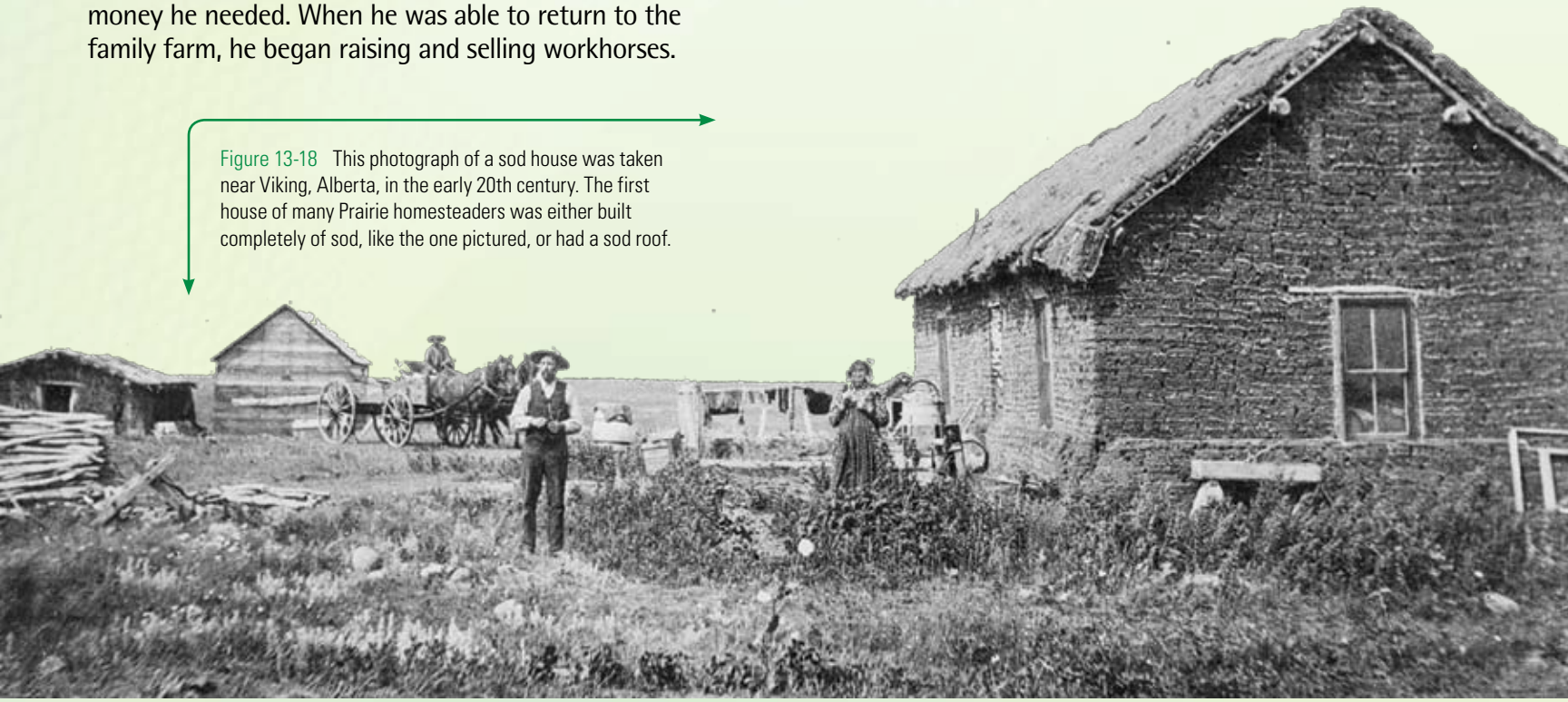


Figure 13-18 This photograph of a sod house was taken near Viking, Alberta, in the early 20th century. The first house of many Prairie homesteaders was either built completely of sod, like the one pictured, or had a sod roof.

Internment

When World War I started in 1914, attitudes toward Ukrainian immigrants became even worse. At the time, Ukraine was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was allied with Germany. Because Canada was at war with Germany, many immigrants from both Germany and Ukraine were labelled "enemy aliens." They were required to register with the government, carry identity cards, and report to the police regularly.

About 5 000 Ukrainian immigrants were sent to live in forced-labour camps across the country. Some Canadians did speak out against this abuse. But many Ukrainians and Germans were forced to stay in the camps until two years after the war was over.

Assimilation and Reclamation

As a result of this mistreatment, many Ukrainian immigrants began to let go of their language and culture. They lost their Ukrainian identity while trying to fit into Canadian society. Today, many descendants of these immigrants are proudly reclaiming their Ukrainian language, culture, and traditions.

Harvey Spak, for example, is the grandson of Alexander and Anna Szpak. Using a different spelling of the family name, Spak works in Alberta as an artist and filmmaker. He told the story of his grandparents and other Ukrainian immigrants in a documentary series about the immigrant experience in Canada.

Figure 13-19 Forced-Labour Camps, 1914–1920

EXPLORATIONS

1. With a partner, create a brief dialogue between Alexander or Anna Szpak and a recent immigrant to Canada. In the conversation, compare the following topics then and now:
   - attitudes toward immigrants
   - the need to reject the identity of one's homeland
   - whether visions of Canada meet immigrants' needs

   Present your dialogue to a small group or to the class.

2. Build a family tree. You may focus on your own family or another family, or you may create a fictitious family. Make sure you
   - consult your parents or other relatives to fill in as many generations as you can
   - include dates of birth and death, as well as places where people lived and when they lived there
   - note a few significant events in the family's history, such as weddings and citizenship ceremonies
   - note national or international events that affected the family (e.g., Did anyone immigrate to escape war or discrimination?)

   Choose one aspect of your family tree to share with your classmates through a brief oral presentation.

Asserting Aboriginal Rights

In Canada, Aboriginal nationalism involves the right to self-determination and self-government, and the relationship to the land. It also means the right to follow traditional ways of life, such as hunting, fishing, and trapping. Many First Nations people say that these rights were settled in treaties. They believe that this means they already have the right to self-determination.

Self-determination for First Nations can mean creating separate laws. If a First Nations law and a Canadian law were different, which law should First Nations people obey?

As a historical nation, not a tribe, the Métis were and remain in the vanguard of asserting self-government rights as an Aboriginal people in Canada.

— *John Weinstein, adviser to Métis leaders, in* Quiet Revolution West: The Rebirth of Métis Nationalism, *2007*

Métis Self-Government

John A. Macdonald's vision of an expanded Canada became possible in 1870 when the government purchased Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. But Macdonald's vision completely ignored the Métis people already living in the Red River area of what is now Manitoba. At the time, the Métis made up more than half the population of this area.

By taking up arms in 1869 and 1870, the Métis — under the leadership of Louis Riel — forced the federal government to pay attention to their concerns. Macdonald quickly passed the Manitoba Act through Parliament and created the province of Manitoba. The Act recognized the French and English languages as equal and upheld Aboriginal rights. It also provided 566 500 hectares of land for Métis people.

But disagreements over how to distribute this land caused delays. While Manitoba's lieutenant-governor and the Métis argued over land, immigrants flooded into the area. Soon, the Métis were outnumbered by people of European heritage.

The Métis felt cheated, and disagreements about land and self-government continued. In 1885, Riel led a second uprising in Saskatchewan. He was executed for leading this resistance, and the Métis dream of self-determination was shattered.

For decades, most history books identified the Métis uprising of 1885 as the North West Rebellion. More recently, people have been calling it the North West *Resistance*. How could this new term change some people's vision of Canada?

Figure 13-20 At the age of 25, Gabriel Dumont was elected leader of the Saskatchewan Métis buffalo hunt. As the president of the Métis on the south branch of the Saskatchewan River, he petitioned the federal government to recognize Métis rights. When he received no response, he led the Métis military forces at Batoche during the North West Resistance of 1885.

Métis Today

Today, the Constitution recognizes the Métis as an Aboriginal people with a common history and traditional lands and culture. The Métis have re-emerged as a nation that still wants self-determination. But unlike First Nations people, the Métis were never forced onto reserves, so their homelands are scattered.

Treaties, the Indian Act, and Self-Determination

In 1876, Parliament passed the Indian Act. This act gave the federal government complete control over the lives of First Nations people. The act defined who was an "Indian" and denied full citizenship to "Indians." First Nations people were allowed to become full citizens only if they gave up their treaty rights.

The Indian Act was presented as a way to protect the well-being of First Nations people. Their well-being had been guaranteed in treaties. But it was also designed to encourage assimilation. Read the words of Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpel in "Voices." How was First Nations peoples' understanding of their relationship with Canada different from the government's understanding?

Over the years, the Indian Act was changed many times, but First Nations people were rarely consulted about those changes. In the 1970s, First Nations united to fight the government's plan to abandon its treaty obligations. This battle marked the beginning of a new period of Aboriginal political strength.

Today, many First Nations are in the process of settling land claims and asserting their rights to traditional lands and to govern themselves. The Nisga'a of northwestern British Columbia, for example, had been trying to sign a treaty since 1890. Between 1927 and 1951, First Nations could do nothing to help their cause because the law made it illegal for them to raise money to support land claims.

Once this law was repealed, the Nisga'a challenged the government in court. Then, in 1973, the court ruled that Aboriginal rights and lands exist even if the government does not recognize them. In 1982, Canada's Constitution confirmed these rights.

The groundbreaking Supreme Court ruling paved the way for other First Nations to settle land claims. The Nisga'a Final Agreement was one of the most important and controversial. Some people believed that it gave the Nisga'a too much control, while others believed that the Nisga'a had given up too much.

VOICES

The First Nations view our relationship today as a continuation of the treaty relationship . . . This partnership is symbolized by the grandfather of all treaties, the Iroquois Confederacy Gus-wen-tah or two-row wampum . . . First Nations and Europeans would travel in parallel paths down the symbolic river in their own vessels. The two-row wampum, which signifies "One River, Two Vessels," committed the newcomers [Europeans] to travel in their vessel and not attempt to interfere with our [the First Nations'] voyage.

— *Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpel, in* In the Rapids — Navigating the Future of First Nations, *1993*

Figure 13-21 Nisga'a leaders gather in the Senate chamber to celebrate the passage of the Nisga'a Final Agreement in 2000. The agreement recognized the Nisga'a claim to their traditional territory and their right to make their own decisions about social policy and resource development.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Section 15 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms says, "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability."
   a) Choose a group whose needs you believe were ignored when early visions of Canada developed.
   b) If the Charter had been part of the Constitution in 1867, would Section 15 have helped ensure that your chosen group's needs were met?
   c) Do you think Canada now meets the needs of all peoples all the time? Explain your thoughts.

Does Canada today show that visions of Canadian identity have evolved?

As times have changed, so have visions of Canadian identity. At one time, the main vision of Canada was as a country of English-speaking people with English values and culture. But in the last half of the 20th century, this began to change. French and English were reaffirmed as official languages, and Canada became an officially multicultural country.

In a 2003 poll by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada, 54 per cent of people surveyed said that multiculturalism made them feel proud to be Canadian. This sense of pride was even higher among people aged 18 to 30. Sixty-six per cent of respondents in this group took pride in Canada's multiculturalism.

One of the biggest changes in Canada over the past twenty years has been the emergence of a more deeply entrenched [all-Canadian] national identity. Young Canadians, at least outside Quebec, are far more likely than older Canadians to define themselves as Canadian first, rather than in terms of their province.

— Matthew Mendelsohn, political scientist, 2005

The Founding Nations Debate

For many years, schools taught students that Canada was created by the French and British. This popular view ignored Aboriginal peoples, who had lived in what is now Canada long before Europeans arrived and the nation-state of Canada existed.

As the Aboriginal contribution to Canada became more widely recognized, some people began to refer to "three founding nations" — Aboriginal people, French, and British. But not everyone accepts this idea. Some people argue that Aboriginal peoples were not a single nation and did not help create the nation-state of Canada in the same way as the French and English did. The concept of three founding nations also ignores the contributions of immigrants from countries other than France and Britain.

➲ In a small group, brainstorm to come up with a simple phrase to replace "three founding nations." Try to think of a phrase that recognizes the contributions of all the peoples who helped make Canada what it is today.

The Multiculturalism Debate

Many Canadians take pride in Canada's reputation as a multicultural society. But a 2007 study showed that recent immigrants in visible minority groups took longer to blend into Canadian society than white immigrants. Members of visible minority groups also said that they feel less Canadian.

➲ Review the statistics in Figure 13-22. What patterns can you identify? Do these patterns affect your sense of a Canadian national identity? Explain your response.

Figure 13-22 How Immigrants See Their Canadian Identity

Do you identify yourself as Canadian? Percentage Who Answered Yes.			
Immigrant Group	Arrived before 1991	Arrived 1991–2001	Second Generation
Black	27.2%	13.9%	49.6%
Chinese	42.0%	30.6%	59.5%
South Asian	32.7%	19.1%	53.6%
Other visible minorities	32.8%	17.4%	60.6%
Total visible minorities	34.4%	21.4%	56.6%
White immigrants	53.8%	21.9%	78.2%

Source: Institute for Research on Public Policy

Disagreeing with Multiculturalism

People disagree over the success of Canada's multicultural policies. Political commentator John Ibbitson believes that multiculturalism has helped Canada attract immigrants — and immigrants have helped the country's economy. He wrote: "Multiculturalism turned out to be not only the right thing to do, but the smart thing as well . . . It will be the all-important key to Canada's prosperity in the twenty-first century."

Other commentators, such as Neil Bissoondath, believe that the policy has failed. Bissoondath believes that the idea of multiculturalism was based on two false ideas. "First, it assumed that 'culture' in the larger sense could be transplanted," he wrote. "Second, that those who voluntarily sought a new life in a new country would wish to transport their cultures of origin."

Debates over multiculturalism suggest that visions of Canada continue to evolve. Is this debate healthy or unhealthy? Explain your response.

VOICES

I was born and bred in this amazing land. I've always considered myself a Canadian, nothing more, nothing less, even though my parents come from Italy. How come we have acquired a hyphen? We have allowed ourselves to become divided along the line of ethnic origins, under the pretext of the "Great Mosaic."

— Laura Sabia, feminist and columnist, 1978

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Neil Bissoondath
Challenging Multiculturalism

Figure 13-23 In his novels, Neil Bissoondath often deals with global themes that focus on identity. His book *The Worlds Within Her* was nominated for a Governor General's Award in 1998.

When successful novelist Neil Bissoondath published his 1994 non-fiction book, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, it caused an uproar. In the book, Bissoondath questioned the value of multiculturalism. He said that multiculturalism highlights the differences that divide Canadians, not the similarities that unite them. He says that it weakens visions of a unified Canada because it focuses on isolating cultural groups.

Born in Trinidad to a family with roots in India, Bissoondath immigrated to Canada in 1973. While he was studying French literature, he was shocked by what he found in this country.

"I was seeking a new start in a land that [would give] me that possibility . . . I was *not* seeking to live in Toronto as if I were still in Trinidad — for what would have been the point of emigration?" he wrote.

Bissoondath has become an outspoken critic of official multiculturalism. But he also believes that Canada must continue to welcome immigrants and to fight racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination.

Bissoondath believes that Canadians must develop a new vision of the country: "A Canada where no one is alienated with hyphenation [e.g., an Italian-Canadian]. A nation of cultural hybrids, where every individual is unique and every individual is a Canadian, undiluted and undivided."

EXPLORATIONS

1. Explain Neil Bissoondath's views on multiculturalism. Do you agree with him? Explain your response.
2. A "sacred cow" is an idea or institution that no one is allowed to criticize. In Canada, multiculturalism is often seen as a sacred cow. Should people be allowed to challenge multiculturalism? Should people be allowed to challenge any sacred cow? Explain your point of view.

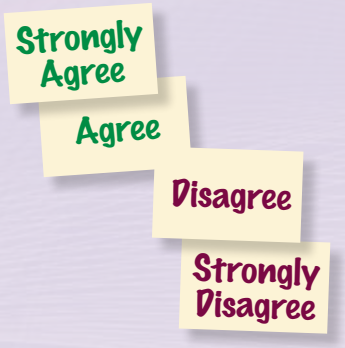
THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. Create two visual images — one past and one present — to represent your individual, collective, and national identity. Think back to when you entered Grade 7 or Grade 8 and how you viewed these aspects of your identity. Then think about how your ideas about your identity have changed since then. The following questions may help you develop your visuals:
   - What aspects of your past identity, if any, have you modified, abandoned, or retained?
   - Are particular aspects of your identity more important today than they were several years ago?

   Present your visuals to the class either orally or by posting them on a bulletin board. If you choose to post them, include a statement that sums up what they represent.
2. With a partner or small group, imagine that you are part of a team working on a federal election campaign. Your task is to develop a vision of Canada that will unify the country and ensure that your party is elected.
   a) Choose a political party — real or imaginary — to represent. In a short paragraph, state the goals of your party.
   b) Come up with a vision that your party can support as an ideal Canada.
   c) Create a slogan or short phrase that captures your vision (e.g., We're All Equal).
   d) Brainstorm to create a list of words related to your vision of Canada. Using these words, create a 30-second radio announcement that includes your slogan and sells your vision of Canada to the public. Record your announcement or present it to the class.
3. Create a survey to find out whether people would support the vision of Canada you developed in Question 2.
   a) Create three yes-or-no questions to use in a survey. These questions should be designed to measure support for your vision of Canada. Suppose, for example, that your slogan is "We're All Equal." One of your questions might ask, "Do you agree that everyone in Canada is equal?"
   b) Survey at least 10 people in your family, school, or community. Note the age and background of each person you survey.
   c) Tally the responses and create a visual (e.g., a mind map, graph, or chart) to present them.
   d) Write a statement that summarizes the information on the visual. You might, for example, include a statement that sets out what the visual tells you about the responses and whether the responses are linked to age, origin, or birthplace.
   e) Present the results of your survey to the class. Explain the similarities and differences you detect in the responses. Identify unusual or unexpected responses.
4. The issue question for this chapter asks: How have visions of Canadian identity evolved? Discuss these questions in a group. Then respond to the chapter issue.
   - Would you say that one vision of Canada grows out of another? Or does one vision of Canada simply replace another?
   - Speaking of Canadian identity as "evolving" suggests that it is improving. Would you say that this is true?
   - Does a country change, then develop a vision to match the change? Or must the vision come first?

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Analyze the Debate Statement



The challenge for Related Issue 4 involves participating in a four-corners debate on this statement: Individuals and groups in Canada should embrace a national identity.

To prepare for this debate, you will examine and analyze the debate statement. This analysis requires you to isolate the parts of the statement, analyze what each means, and then put them back together. As you complete this skill builder, you will hone your critical thinking skills.

Step 1: Dissect the statement

In a small group, divide the debate statement into key words and phrases. On a piece of chart paper, record the key words, such as "identity" and "national identity."

Step 2: Develop understandings of key words and phrases

For every key word or phrase you recorded, generate definitions, understandings, and examples. What is the idea behind each word? Draw on additional resources, such as a dictionary, the glossary of *Understanding Nationalism*, and your journal entries.

Step 3: Generate and respond to questions about the parts of the statement

With your group, develop a list of questions about what the key words and phrases mean in this particular statement. Does the word "embrace," for example, mean blind acceptance of a particular view? Does the phrase "individuals and groups" refer to all Canadians, to members of a particular nation within Canada, to the students in your classroom — or to someone else? As a group, write answers to your questions.

Step 4: Generate and respond to questions about the statement as a whole

Think about the statement as a whole. With your group, generate a list of questions about what you think it really asks — and what it does not ask. Does embracing a national identity, for example, mean that you can't change your mind later? Does the statement suggest that individuals and groups must embrace the same national identity? As a group, write answers to your questions.

Step 5: Trade questions with another group

Trade questions with another group and respond to their questions. Then join the other group and compare your responses to each other's questions.

Step 6: Finalize your responses

Return to your original group. On the basis of the ideas and feedback generated during your discussion with the other group, develop final responses to your questions. These responses will lay the groundwork for your response to the debate statement.